

A Delineation of Postcolonialism: Conflict of Power

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Abstract

This research article, entitled *A Delineation of Post colonialism: Conflict of Power* is an attempt to present a new definition of the theoretical concept of post colonialism. The definition of post colonialism according to this research article is based on the system of power and the article tries to prove that the post colonialism is actually a movement of power where power is structured, restructured, gained and lost and the article shows the conflict between different groups or resources of power in the different phases of post colonialism. Here the article contains multiple hidden ideas of the post colonialism and their close relations on the basis of power and at the same time the article attempts to light on these ideas. In short the post colonialism is actually a movement of power, its structures and restructures, and its conflicts of different branches. The paper shows how with the colonization, in the world, the power is created, used, and ultimately how a super power creates another super power. The article explains the different systems of power in the pre-colonial period, colonial period and post- colonial period and in these three periods how the power changes the relation between nations or countries through the change of time.

KEYWORDS: - indigenous, power, settler, domination etc.

The term post colonialism is an umbrella concept, and it includes ideas from pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, imperial, and commonwealth studies. Post colonialism is the study of culture, politics, society, and history of the former colonized countries in Asia, Africa, Middle East and the influence of the European colonialism in the socio-economical, political, cultural fields of the formerly colonized countries. Post colonialism includes a historical method of study to find out the influence of the European colonialism over the formerly colonized countries, and it is an interdisciplinary field of study where a postcolonial scholar focuses on the economical exploitation, military control of one country by another country, the migration of people, and cultural changes. But at the same time, post colonialism talks about the power, the power of nation or country, domination of one country by another country; the economical, political and military controls of a country over another country, cultural domination. Without power, one country can't dominate other countries. Power is the ability or strength that provides one to act according to his wills and with his possession of power, he can also enforce less powerful beings or powerless beings to act according to his wills. Power does not belong to anyone or anyplace, it is exercised rather than possessed. In the post colonial study, the power is referred to the power of country, the power of nation, especially the power of the European countries. When a country is powerful, it means the country has achieved tremendous success in economical, military, political and cultural fields. And a powerful country exercises power over other countries, tries to control the powerless or less power countries. The post colonialism talks about the European colonial power and

its exercise over the non European and indigenous countries, it talks about the impact of power of the Europe over the rest of the world and the changes in the world with the rising of the European colonial power. In short post colonialism is a conflict of power, between colonial countries and colonized countries, but this conflict of power never ends with decolonization. After the decolonization, the exercise of power or extortion of one country by another country in the post- colonial period is still remaining. Such domination in the twenty first century after the period of decolonization is identified as neo-colonialism by the first president of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah. In the present time, in the international field, the power conflict is still remaining. The powerful countries, especially China, Soviet Union, United States etc exercise their powers over the countries which are officially liberal, but they are depending on Soviet Union, United States, China for the economical, political and military supports.

It has already been told that colonialism is the exercise of power over one country by another country, and the exercise of power has been found in two ways. The first is found between two European countries in order to establish colonies and the second is between a European country and a non European country to establish a colony over the non European country. While a European colonial country attempted to establish colonies outside the Europe in the first phase of colonialism, the European country had to face two powers. The first one was the indigenous power who prevented the Europeans to settle in the indigenous land and the second was the other European countries who also attempted to establish their colonies outside the Europe and who were equally powerful. For example, when the British East India Company established the colony in India for the British crown, the British colonial power had to face such two powers. At first the British East India Company faced the Indian kings and emperors who prevented them to enter India; and secondly the British East India Company faced other colonial powers from the Europe especially the Dutch East India Company who also attempted to make India as their colony. This is the first shape of power conflict at the beginning of the colonialism. The second shape of power conflict during this period is found in the background of the colonized country. In the pre- colonial period, when a European country faced a non European country, the European country very easily defeated the non European country because during this period the non European country was divided into several provinces according to its religious, epistemological, geographical and ethical diversities. The country was not united, it was separated into several provinces, thus the non European indigenous power was broken into small pieces, and in such condition a nationalistic spirit was not possible among the inhabitants in the non European countries, because the inhabitants were categorized into groups or separated into several communities according to their diversities of religions, cultures, languages etc and every member of a community thought for the development for his own community. In such condition the nationalist spirit was far away from them. And at the same time, all these separated communities tried to establish their own governments by defeating other fellow communities and as a result the indigenous power was broken into pieces and all the broken powers were conscious about themselves but they were not conscious about the danger by the European settlers. For example, before the British colonialism in India, India was separated into several regional powers like the Maratha Kingdom, the Mughal Empire; and the history of India witnessed the conflicts of power between these kingdoms or empires. During this period, nationalist thinking in India was a dream and the British East

India Company very easily defeated one kingdom after another kingdom in India. There were two reasons behind the weakness of the non European countries. The first was the disunity among the indigenous monarchs and kings. The second was that with his limited power an indigenous king had to face two opponents at a time. He had to face a fellow monarch and the European settlers with his limited power and the monarch was very easily defeated by the European settlers. But for the European countries situation was different. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they advanced and developed into modernity. With the revolution in science, technology, industry and the rise of capitalism; the European countries became powerful in economy, technology, military and they began to grab all the systems in the world and became powerful and dreamt to establish colonies outside of Europe, and as a result they exercised their power outside of the Europe over the non European countries in order to establish colonies or to make them their subjects. Behind the establishment of colonies, there were many reasons. They needed colonies for their economical profits because the colonies played the role of consumers for their products, came from the industries and factories and at the same time the natural resources of the colonies were used as the raw materials for the industries and factories. Besides this economical profit, from the colonized countries they could import slaves who were employed as labors in the factories and industries and thus they saved the high wages for labors which they had to pay to the local European labors. The European slave merchants profited by importing African slaves to American continent. They found it much profitable and almost all European nations involved in the slave trade and established colonies in Africa. These were the basic motives to exercise the power of the European colonialism outside the Europe. Another reason for the establishment of the European colonialism is from the moral ground. The Europe thinks that the Europeans are the centre of the earth and the rest of the world should follow them. This concept is known as Eurocentrism. This Eurocentric philosophy creates two ideologies, first one as they are in the centre, it means that they are the masters of the world and the rest of the people are their subjects and that is why they should follow the Europe and secondly it belongs to their moral duty to teach the modern European culture to the rest of the world who are their subjects and performing such moral duties, it means that they play their roles as teachers, because the practices of the indigenous culture and religion are the practices of immoral culture, the culture of animals. The Europeans took it as their moral duty to make the non Europeans and indigenous people like them. To do so they migrated, educated the non Europeans as they believed that the non Europeans were savages, uneducated creatures and practiced the beast culture, they are animals because they are very close to nature. This moral duty of the Europe is identified as The White Man's Burden by Rudyard Kipling. In the definition of Orientalism, Edward Said says that orientalism is a European invention of the Eastern countries who they regard as the places of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories. And this definition of Edward Said suggests the adventurous spirit of the Europe that enforces Europeans to discover the world and it is another reason behind the inauguration of colonialism. These three ideological concepts, Eurocentrism, The White Man's Burden, and Orientalism dominated the psychology of the Europe and increased their interest for the non Europeans, they migrated all over the world to prove their greatness over the rest of the world and thus they came into the conduct with the other power of the world.

With the establishment of colonialism, the European colonial power has come into the interaction of the non European power, indigenous power. Before colonialism, the world was divided into two power zones, the first power belonged to the European countries also known as European block which was powerful and the second power belonged to the non European countries, known as non European block which was less powerful. But with the establishment of colonialism, the European colonial power has entered in the non European countries and dominated them. There were several reasons for sustaining the colonial domination over the non European countries by the European countries during the colonial period. In fields of capitalism, politics, military the Europe becomes powerful and the other countries are standing far away from these grounds. With the mastership over these grounds, the Europe becomes the master of the world. As the Europe is the super giant of the modern economy and capital market, it means that the Europe dominates the economical system of the world they control the economical systems of other countries. This economical power moulds Europe as the master of the world economy and the economical systems of the other countries come under the control of the Europe. Second reason behind the sustaining of the colonial power of the Europe, during the period of colonization is the broken condition of the indigenous country that has already been told. The natives are not united, they are broken into pieces, and thus the power of the natives becomes very weak and a weak country is very easily dominated and controlled by the European settlers. Among the broken pieces, some pieces accept the colonial power and some of them resist the colonial power; and the people who accept the colonial power, play a treacherous role for the nationalistic natives as they provide very precious information about the nationalist movement against the colonial power, and it becomes very easy to make planes to stop the nationalist movement and to sustain the colonial power over the natives by the settlers. In the history of Indian revolution against the British colonial power, there are many examples of eminent politicians who worked as the spies for the sustaining of the British colonial power in India. The third fact behind the sustaining of the colonial power over the natives is the technique of modern war and its weapons. The Europe is the master of modern war, they fight with the modern technology of war and their armies and soldiers use the modern arms and weapons in the battle fields, whereas the natives use their traditional weapons. The traditional weapons can't resist the power of modern weapons, and the colonial power very easily defeats the natives in the battle fields. These are the reasons behind the sustaining the colonial domination of one country by another country. Next is the system of colonial power domination of one country by another country during the colonial period. After the establishment of the colonial power over the natives, the settlers use two systems of power to dominate the natives. Louis Althusser, in *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* identifies these two systems of colonial domination as soft power and hard power. Soft power is known as the Ideological State Apparatus and the hard power is known as the Repressive State Apparatus, the soft power system is exercised by the ideology and the hard power is exercised with repression and violence. Police, army, prison system, capital and corporal punishments belong to the hard power system and through these institutions the settlers dominate the nationalistic colonized people. This is the one side of domination of the natives by the settlers during the period of colonialism. The other system of domination during the period of colonialism is employed through the institutions like schools, churches, culture, religion, language. And in this side of

domination the ideology plays the main role. The language plays the vital role of colonial domination over the natives. The settler's language dominates native's language. A native has to learn the settler's language for several reasons. First is for the economical stability. If a native knows the settler's language i.e. French or English, it becomes very easy for him to obtain a job during the colonial period that provides him the economical stability, and at the same time he plays the role as an interpreter both for natives and settlers and also conveys the messages of the masters to his fellow natives. Thus he thinks himself superior to the fellow natives and equalizes himself with the settlers. This is the power of language that decreases the value of the native language at the natives during the colonial period. On the other hand if a settler learns the native's language, he does it to give orders to the natives. During the period of colonialism, natives learn English or French to empower themselves with the colonial power of language and the settlers learn the native's language to exercise their power over them. In the first chapter, entitled *The Negro and Language* of the book *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon explains the power of French language over the Black people. He says that- '*In the French colonial army, and particularly in the Senegalese regiment, the black officers serve first of all as the interpreters. They are used to convey the master's orders to their fellows, and they too enjoy a certain position of honor.*' (page- 18/19, *Black Skin, White Masks*). During the colonization, English and French languages stand for the authorizing power and the native language is for the subjective power. In the same text Frantz Fanon says that even the middle class educated natives prevent their children to use their native language, they use the native language for their servants to give them order- '*The middle class in the Antilles never speak Creole except to their servants. In school the children of the Martinique are taught to scorn the dialect.*' (page-20, *Black Skin, White Masks*). Thus the position of the indigenous language becomes inferior both to the colonial and colonized people and the language is used for the inferior tasks like to give orders to the servants. Indigenous language has been used for the lower classes. This is the soft power domination of language during the colonial period over the natives. The power of the European culture has been noticed over the indigenous culture. This is another soft power domination. The European culture is accepted as the culture of human, a modern formation of culture, whereas the indigenous culture is close to nature and it becomes a culture of beasts, a culture of animals. Such ideology about the notion of culture dominates the psychology of the native society. In *Prison Notebooks*, the Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci delineates the power of the colonial culture on the colonized culture. He identifies this cultural domination as the cultural hegemony. The cultural hegemony enforces the natives to accept the settler's culture. When a culture dominates another culture without using any force, violence and repression, it is called the cultural hegemony. And in the cultural studies, it is also known as mimicry where natives imitate to the settlers. The power of the colonial culture has changed the culture of the indigenous people into a hybrid culture, a mixed culture that includes the cultural ingredients both from the colonial and colonized cultures. For this cultural power, the indigenous culture has lost its purity and it becomes hybridism. The soft power domination of the European countries over the non-European countries during the colonialism over the natives is also found through the institution of church. The Christianity is the only religion for human and other religions, practiced by the natives are the religions for the devils. Jesus Christ is the savior of human from the doomed,

sinned life. He is the real son of god. This religious belief spreads from the Europeans to the non-Europeans, and the Christianity dominates the values of the other religions. In the fiction *Things Fall Apart*, Chinua Achebe explains how the missionaries convert the people of the Igbo society into Christianity and they change their religion. The European colonial power exercises power not only with the ideology in order to rule the natives or indigenous people, but also use violence, repression and blood shade. The colonial history tells that when the situation is out of control to dominate the colonized people or the colonized people use weapons to decolonize themselves, the colonial power uses guns, prison system, police, capital and corporal punishment, military to dominate the natives. In the history of India, in 1857 when the Indian sepoys (soldiers) revolted against the army of the East India Company, the Company used violence and repression and killed Indian soldiers to uproot the mutiny of sepoys (soldiers). Besides this, the British government sent many nationalist leaders into prisons and gave them capital punishment like death to stop the Indian independent revolution and dominated the Indians. They murdered the nationalist heroes like Bhagat Singh. To rule over the natives, during the colonial period, the settlers used the both Ideology State of Apparatus and Repressive State of Apparatus to colonize the natives. Language, culture and religion are the weapons for the soft power to sustain the colonial power and police, military, prison system, corporal- capital punishments are the hard power weapons to sustain the colonial power. The discrimination of power in a colonized country also brings the discrimination in the life style between settlers and indigenous people. As the Europeans are the masters and hold all the power systems, they enjoy every facilities of life in the colonized country and at the same time the natives are totally excluded from all these facilities. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon very beautifully explains this colonial discrimination in the chapter '*Concerning Violence*'. Here he says: '*The settler's town is a strongly-built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly-lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage-cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown... The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute*'. (page-30, *The Wretched of the Earth*).

It is noticed in the power system that one power creates another power through the domination, extortion and exploitation. Power means domination and through the exploitation of the subjects, a dominating power creates another dominating power. In the power structure of the colonial period, the colonial power creates nationalist power among the natives. Before the colonization, the natives are separated into groups or communities and into different branches with some broken ideas and the settlers very easily dominate them. But after a period of domination, all natives from all separated groups come to know that their actual enemy is one and the enemy is the settler, then the natives begin to unite themselves and their broken ideas come into one place in order to stand against the colonial ideas. Thus they are united with the nationalist ideas, and stand against the settler's power. To create a nationalist power among the natives, the newly educated natives play a vital role. The educated natives give the priority of the national values and witness the exploitation of the national heritages by the colonial power, and at the same time the prejudices against the natives in the native's land by the settlers dissatisfy the educated natives. In the novel *A Passage to India*, E. M. Foster explains this situation through the character of Dr. Aziz. At the beginning of the story, Dr. Aziz is

a devoted person to his religion and to the English authority. But he is charged on molesting Adela, an English woman. After the trial, Aziz is proved innocent, but there is found changes in the character of Aziz. He begins to hate every English man and spoils his friendship with Fielding. Such incidents bring dissatisfaction among the educated natives for the colonial rule. The industrialization in the colonized country is another issue to form the nationalist power among the natives. The trade unions talk about the economical rights of the labors, the leaders organize the campaigns for wages, working hours and for other important issues against the colonialist bourgeoisie society. Later these trade unions change into political parties and the demands of these political parties are the political rights for the natives. From all grounds when the natives find that it is the colonialist society who holds all the power and if the natives need to uproot this power then they must be united because their enemy is one and thus the nationalism begins among the natives. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon explains the formation of the decolonization as '*History teaches us clearly that the battle against colonialism does not run straight away along the lines of nationalism. For a very long time the native devotes his energies to ending certain definite abuses: forced labour, corporal punishment, inequality of salaries, limitation of political rights, etc. This fight for democracy against the oppression of mankind will slowly leave the confusion of neo-liberal universalism to emerge, sometimes laboriously, as a claim to nationhood.*' (page - 119, *The Wretched of the Earth*). After the formation of the nationalist power, it becomes necessary to start decolonization. Decolonization is a movement of power where the colonial power is uprooted by the nationalist power where the nationalist power is established. Decolonization is a movement of violence in order to stop the violence and repression of the colonial power. According to Frantz Fanon- '*Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world is, obviously, a programme of complete disorder.*' (page-26, *The Wretched of the Earth*). It has already been described the power of language, and English and French languages play the significant role to dominate the indigenous people, natives and the non Europeans. But at the same time the language also plays another important role to decolonize the colonialist power and the value of language rises the nationalistic spirit among the natives and brings unity among natives, nationalist ideas among them. The most extensive example of the power of language is found in the creation of the country Bangladesh after the British rule in India. Bangladesh is a country whose nationalist idea is based on the value of language. After the British colonialism in India, India has been divided into Hindustan and Pakistan. Pakistan has two parts- Purba or East Pakistan and Paschim or West Pakistan. Later Purba or East Pakistan separated from Paschim or West Pakistan and identified themselves as Bangladesh because the people of Purba Pakistan are Bengali, and for Bengali language many people sacrificed their lives. For the spirit of the Bengali language forced the inhabitants of East Pakistan to separate from the West Pakistan. Bangladesh is a country that is established on the power of language. In order to honor the power of language, 21 February is celebrated as the International Mother Language Day in every year. In the note *On the Abolition of the English Department*, Ngugi wa` Thiong'o , Taban Lo Liyog, and Henry Owuor- Anyumba debate on establishing a Department of African Literature and Language after the abolition of the Department of English Literature and Language. Here the decolonization is found in the

academic field after the decolonization in Africa- '*We have argued the case for the abolition of the present Department of English in the College, and the establishment of a Department of African Literature and Language. This is not a change of names only. We want to establish the centrality of Africa in the Department.*'(page-1999, *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*). Cultural resistance is another soft power system of decolonization. People from the colonized countries find that their own cultures are facing problem for the existence at the rise of the colonial culture, and in that case the natives resist the colonial culture and practice their own culture. These are the soft power systems to decolonize the colonized people. Besides the soft power resistances, to decolonize, the hard power is exercised by the natives. At the time of nationalist revolution, many nationalist leaders use weapons like guns, bombs to uproot the colonial power. In the last phase of the British colonialism in India, both soft power and hard power were exercised. Mahatma Gandhi exercised the soft power to decolonize India and on the other hand Subhash Chandra Bose, Baghat Sing etc exercised the hard power against the British rule. Mahatma Gandhi brought unity in India he included subaltern people in the nationalist movement. His none violence was the soft power decolonizing movement against the British rule. On the other hand, the Indian National Army or Azad Hind Fauj was the hard power to liberate India from the British rule. This army symbolizes the hard anti-colonial power formation. It becomes clear that to colonize over one country, a country has to be powerful in culture, language, religion, police, army, and in capital, so that the powerful country dominates from every ground to the less power countries; and at the same time in order to decolonize, the colonized country also needs to be powerful from every grounds in order to defend and offend the colonial power.

After the decolonization, a colonized country obtains liberty, freedom and becomes independent, but the power system and its two classes, dominating and dominated are still remaining in the newly liberated countries. After the decolonization, the European settlers have returned to their own lands and the place of the mastership of the dominating power becomes vacant. This vacant place of power is captured by the nationalist political parties, native bourgeoisie society, corporate society and highly educated natives; and the rest of the common people are still under the dominating power. The difference is that during the colonial period, they were dominated by the European settlers and after the decolonization they are dominated by their own people. The common people are still under the power. Before the European colonialism, the indigenous people were the subjects of the indigenous kings and rulers; during the colonial period they were the subjects of the European colonial power, and after the decolonization, in the newly liberated country they are still the subjects and they are dominated by the local political parties. Thus there are no very specific changes for the common indigenous people in these three phases of the post colonial power structures. Among these three phases, in the last phase i.e. neo-colonial period the common indigenous people have obtained the dignity of life. They have received this dignity through the movement of the decolonization. Decolonization has been needed in order to abolish the disorder and disharmony of the European colonialism to establish harmony and order. But actually the decolonization is also a movement of violence- '*decolonization is quite simply the replacing of a certain 'species' of men by another 'species' of men. Without any period of transition, there is total, complete and absolute*

substitution'. (page-27, *The Wretched of the Earth*). Though a colonized country has gained its liberty yet the discrimination is found among the inhabitants. As the political parties, corporate society and capitalist society control the power, the political leaders, businessmen use the power for their own profits and they create laws, control the system according to their own profits and wills. Besides this, in the newly liberated country, there are some systems which divide its citizens into different categories. This division is based generally on the economical backgrounds, for example, the fare of the passengers in Indian railway. The bogies of an India passenger train is divided into categories like General, Sleeper, and AC couches with different facilities with different fares. Here the government of India does not give the equal priority to all the passengers. For the rich Indians, the government manages AC bogies, for the middle class Indians for Sleepers; and for the poor Indians, General class bogies are waiting. Thus with the diversity of the economical backgrounds, the Indian railway authority provides the facilities to the passengers in diverse manners. Thus the ruling power in India after the decolonization from the British colonial power, maintains the inequality among the Indians according to their economical backgrounds. The good thing is that in the democratic country, the power system is circled, it means that one power depends for its existence on another power, it may be a super power or not. In India, during the colonialism, the British authority was the centre of the power, but after the decolonization this power has been decentralized. For example, in an interview chamber of the higher education department for the recruitment for the post of a teacher for the University or a college in India, an applicant has to face two groups of power to prove illegibility for the teaching post, the first group contains the other candidates who also apply for the same post and they are equally powerful, and the second power belongs to the members of the interview board who are the expert of power. Every applicant is trying to prove to be the most powerful from the other applicants to the board members who will reward him for his victory by offering the job. But this master power is not the last word, it is also controlled by another super power that provides the guidelines to select the best applicant for the post, and this super power controls everything behind the interview room, and the name of this super power is UGC (University Grants Commission). This UGC is also controlled by the ruling political party. And the ruling political party in India is selected as a ruling party through the Election by Indians and a common Indian who is now facing the power in the interview chamber. Thus the power is recircled from one class of power to another class of power in a democratic country like India. In the twenty first century, the exercise of power or the domination of one country by another country in the international level is still remaining. This new system of domination in the twenty first century is identified as the neo- colonialism by the Ghanaian independent leader Kwame Nkrumah. In *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965), Kwame Nkrumah defines the term neo-colonialism as the new ways of domination by which the former colonial powers like England, France and the new super powers like United States and China exercise their powers to dominate the formerly colonized countries after their independences. At present, the conflict of power in the international level is found between United States and Soviet Union and their power conflict is identified in the modern history of the world as the Cold War (1945-1991). The world is divided into two groups of international power. The first group is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, known as NATO, consists of twenty nine independent countries from North America and Europe. The

important countries of NATO are United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany etc. As a counterweight or as a balance of power to NATO, the Warsaw Pact was established. It is a treaty of defence, signed by Soviet Union, Poland, Warsaw and seven Soviet Satellite States. This treaty of defence is based on the friendship, cooperation, mutual assistance at the time of emergency or war like situations. Thus the world is divided into two blocs of power. They are the Eastern Bloc includes Soviet Union and its satellite states; and the Western Bloc, includes the United States and its NATO allies. These two power blocs stand against each other. In the present time, there are some countries which are formerly liberal and independent but actually they depend on the other countries for political, military and economical supports. These liberated countries are dominated by other countries. These semi independent countries are designated as Satellite State. The Satellite States are going through the crucial period of danger for their powerless existence. All the powerful countries exercise their powers over these counties in order to establish their mastership over political, economical and military grounds. Both United States and Soviet Union exercise their power over these satellite states in the Middle East especially Iraq, Lebanon and Syria. From the earlier phase to the present phase of the post colonialism, the power is the centre and every incident or movement is happened for power. Post colonialism talks nothing besides power because it explains the relation between countries on the basis of power. Post colonialism is the explanation of power between the countries and the domination of the powerful country to the less power countries, the exploitation of the economical, political, civic rights of the indigenous people in their homelands by the powerful countries.

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